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The Meaning of ΩΣ OION TE

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Her statement of the facts is divided by Theseus' exclamation just at the point where the human story ends and the 'divine' story—the Poseidon part—is about to begin. Attention is thus brought to it again.

The line of action adopted by Poseidon in abiding by his oath and sacrificing the innocent Hippolytus is ironically approved, as is that of Hippolytus in keeping silence and sacrificing himself: the whole blame is for a moment—and most reasonably too—put on Theseus himself for pronouncing the curse in such a hurry in the first place.

But no, after all, it's really Aphrodite's fault, not his, so he needn't worry about it. This is the epilogue, and 'the gods,' as usual, are having a bad time of it. The Athenians are smiling.

Having three times already drawn attention to the Poseidon story by bits of sheer bravado—first in the lyric ode in the prologue, then by making Theseus openly doubt the god's solemn oath, and lastly by making him interpose an apparently casual exclamation in Artemis's discourse, Euripides now gives us what is perhaps the most daring and clever piece of stage work in the whole play.

Hippolytus, who knows nothing whatever of the curse Theseus has called down upon him, suddenly cries out:

ὦ δῶρα πατρός σου Ποσειδῶνος πικρά.

He could not be thinking of the three wishes. What did he mean? The

explanation is really obvious. He has recognised in the wave-cum-bull combination—as who would not?—some device of the sea-god's, and hence his own accident as a 'bitter gift of Poseidon'!

And the remark of Theseus, who, like the audience, thinks at once of the three wishes,

ὡς μήποτ' ἐλθεῖν ὠφελ' εἰς τοῦμὸν στόμα

comes as a veritable bombshell to him.

He only now realises what Theseus has done.

τί δ' ; ἔκτανές τ' ἄν μ', ὡς τότ' ἦσθ' ὠργίσμενος,

which we would translate:

What? Wouldst thou have slain me? Thou wert then so much angered!

Theseus groans, 'The gods deceived me.' Hippolytus, in the sudden revelation of the injury which has been done, expresses a lively desire to curse the gods at large—and no wonder!

The effect of this culminating scene on the quick Athenians must have been electrical, and the tumult of cheering that broke out at the end, though gracefully taken by Euripides as a tribute to the memory of Pericles, must have been a whole-hearted testimony, confirmed by the bestowal of the first prize, to one of the finest pieces of work of the most consummate artist of the antique stage.

J. A. S.

Capreae, 1918.

THE MEANING OF ΩΣ ΟΙΟΝ ΤΕ.

In Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* (vol. i. p. 21, ll. 17-8, Stählin: 24 Potter), we read, Ἄρης γοῦν ὁ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς, ὡς οἶόν τε, τετιμμημένος, which the Ante-Nicene Christian Library (*Clem. Alex.* i. p. 37) translates thus: 'Mars, accordingly, who by the poets is held in the highest possible honour.' This is closely related to the Latin version in Migne, 'Mars, qui a poetis summo in honore habitus est,' but it seems clearly wrong. For Ares is not conspicuously honoured in the Greek poets; least of all in Homer, whom Clement has specially in mind at this point, since he goes on to quote

Iliad v. 31 and 385-7, lines which contain the epithets βροτολογιός and μαιφόνος, to which Clement himself adds ἀνάρσιος and the Homeric ἀλλοπρόσ-αλλος. Further, this rendering makes ὡς οἶόν τε the equivalent of ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα. But ὡς οἶόν τε occurs, as a separate phrase, in two other places of Clement, iii. *Strom.* (Stäh. ii. 208, 22-3: 524 P) and iv. *Strom.* (Stäh. ii. 249, 15-6: 564 P). The first of these runs, παραχαράσσοντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν, μᾶλλον δὲ κατασκάπτοντες ὡς οἶόν τε αὐτοῖς: 'falsifying the truth, or rather, uprooting it so far as they can.' The second is, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑτεροδόξων παρα-

τιθέμενοι καὶ ὥς οἶόν τε ἡμῖν διαλύεσθαι πειρώμενοι: 'quoting the opinions even of the heretics and trying, so far as we can, to demolish them.' In each of these passages ὥς οἶόν τε has a limiting force: it suggests the attempt to do something which cannot be done completely, stress being laid rather on what is impossible than on what is possible. There is no need, therefore, to insert a superlative in the rendering, which for our first passage should run, 'Ares, for instance, who is honoured, so far as that is possible, in the poets . . .' Clement is in a satirical mood, and he means that the poets do their best to honour Ares, in spite of his unattractive character.

The phrase is used several times by Lucian, the older contemporary of Clement. In *Imagines* 3 we read: τὸ εἶδος ὥς οἶόν τε ὑπόδειξον τῷ λόγῳ, 'describe (her) form as best you can.' Again, in *Nigrinus* 32: εἰ γάρ τοι, ἔφη, τῇ προῇ τῶν ἰων τε καὶ ῥόδων χαίρουσιν, ὑπὸ τῇ ῥινὶ μάλιστα ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς στέφεσθαι παρ' αὐτὴν ὥς οἶόν τε τὴν ἀναπνοήν, i.e. the fittest place for garlands would be below the nose, 'as close as you can get to the breath.' So in *Charon* 22 Hermes is asked why men are burning food in front of the tombs. He answers: πεπιστεύκασι γοῦν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναπεμπομένας κάτωθεν δειπνεῖν μὲν ὥς οἶόν τε περιπετομένας τὴν κνίσαν καὶ τὸν καπνόν, πινεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ βόθρου τὸ μέλκρτον. Fowler translates (*Lucian* i. p. 181), 'But the idea is, that the shades come up, and get as close as they can, and feed . . .' Here the stress is laid on the nearness of the shades' approach; and in fact a μάλιστα has been supplied, because ὥς οἶόν τε is taken with περιπετομένας. It seems, however, to belong to δειπνεῖν, which it limits in the same way as we have seen in the former examples—'the shades come up from below, flit around, and feed as best they can on the steam and the smoke . . .' Hermes feels how odd it is to talk of disembodied spirits feeding,¹ so he adds ὥς οἶόν τε as a reservation. Two other instances from Lucian give the same meaning: *De*

mercede conductis 42—φιλήν ὥς οἶόν τε σοι ἐπιδείξω τὴν εἰκόνα—' (since I cannot find an Apelles or a Parrhasius), I will sketch the picture for you in outline as best I can': and *Icaromenippus* 11, ὥς οἶόν τε ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν σελήνην . . . συνεπισκόπει τὴν ὅλην τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς διαθεσιν—'do your best to get up to the moon, and join me in surveying all the affairs of earth.'

From Clement, who was steeped in Plato,² and Lucian, a master of Attic Greek, we should naturally expect to travel back to the great classical writers. There is a clear example in Aristotle, *Politics*, ε 1313 A 39: ἔστι δὲ τὰ τε πάλαι λεχθέντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν, ὥς οἶόν τε, τῆς τυραννίδος, τὸ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας κολούειν κ.τ.λ. The Berlin Aristotle attaches a critical note: οἶόν τε] nonne οἴονται?—but the suspicion is needless. Welldon translates (*Politics* viii. c. 11): 'I refer to the measures mentioned in an earlier part of this treatise for the preservation of tyranny, as far as is possible, viz. the practice of cutting off the prominent characters . . .' Jowett gives the same meaning (*Politics*, v. c. 11), 'in so far as this is possible.' Newman, in a note on the passage (*Arist. Politics*, vol. iv. p. 451), says, 'as much as is possible.' Stephanus' Thesaurus refers us to Demosthenes (s.v. οἶος: ὥς οἶόν τε ap. Dem., quod exp. Pro virili parte), but I can find only a single example in him, though ὥς οἶόν τε with a superlative is common enough. The one example is, however, interesting. In the speech *On the Chersonesus* 75 we read: εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν εἶπεν ὥς οἶόν τε τὰ ἄριστα, ὥσπερ εἶπεν, κ.τ.λ. Cobet bracketed τὰ before ἄριστα, and S. H. Butcher in the Oxford text (*Dem.* vol. i. p. 108) follows him. But the τὰ is surely needed. λέγειν or εἰπεῖν τὰ βέλτιστα or τὸ βέλτιστον occurs no less than five times in the last three pages of this speech, as a description of the orator's work. τὰ ἄριστα is an alternative for this,³ and ὥς οἶόν τε stands

² An illustration of Clement's dependence on Plato will be found in my article on 'Clement of Alexandria's *Protrepticus* and the *Phaedrus* of Plato' in the *Classical Quarterly*, October, 1916.

³ λέγειν or εἰπεῖν τὰ βέλτιστα is common throughout Demosthenes. Apart from the in-

¹ So *Charon* in the next sentence: 'Εκείνους ἔτι πίνειν ἢ ἐσθίειν, ὧν τὰ κρανία ξηρότατα;

by itself as a limiting phrase. The passage should therefore be rendered: 'if the orator had given, *so far as in him lay*, the best advice, as in fact he did. . . .' This is supported by the closing words of section 75, of which the general sense (the text is probably corrupt) is thus given by C. R. Kennedy: 'for action look to yourselves, to the orator for the best instruction *in his power*'; and by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge: 'for the actions you must look to yourselves; from the speaker you must require that he give you *the best counsel he can*.' Whether this meaning is in the text as it stands—*τὰ μὲν ἔργα παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ζητεῖτε, τὰ δὲ βέλτιστα ἐπιστήμη λέγειν παρὰ τοῦ παριόντος*—or whether we must resort to conjecture for it, it seems to correspond exactly to the *εἶπεν ὥς οἶόν τε τὰ ἄριστα* a few lines above.

Turning to Plato, we note a well-known passage, *Rep.* iii. 387 B-C., given as follows in Burnet's Oxford text: *οὐκοῦν ἔτι καὶ τὰ περὶ ταῦτα ὀνόματα πάντα τὰ δεινὰ τε καὶ φοβερὰ ἀποβλητέα, Κωκυτοὺς τε καὶ Στύγας καὶ ἑνέρους καὶ ἀλίβαντας, καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα τούτου τοῦ τύπου ὀνομαζόμενα φρίττειν δὴ ποιεῖ ὥς οἶεται πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας*. For *ὥς οἶεται* there is a reading *ὥς οἶόν τε*, supported by Bekker's *q* and four inferior MSS. Hertz and Adam expunge *ὥς οἶεται* altogether, as the gloss of some Christian reader, meaning 'as he (*i.e.* Plato) imagines': the author of the gloss wished to show that

stance under consideration, *τὰ ἄριστα* or *τὰριστα* occurs four times in the *De Corona*, but not elsewhere. Demosthenes uses it in these places with *πράττειν*, not with *λέγειν* or *εἰπεῖν*. But that the distinction is of the slightest is shown by *De Corona* 57, *πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστα*, which is followed in 59 by *λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστα*. In *Chersonesus* 75 Demosthenes may well have departed from his usual custom, both for the sake of variety, and, more especially, because he is here maintaining that the orator's words are a necessary part of the citizens' act (*οὐκοῦν εἶπε μὲν ταῦθ' ὁ Τιμόθεος, ἐποίησατε δ' ὑμεῖς ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπράχθη*). When words are regarded as deeds, the speaker may fitly adopt for the one the construction that he usually reserves for the other.

he could read such names without shivering. Jowett and Campbell (vol. iii. pp. 111-2) consider *ὥς οἶόν τε* probably genuine, and its meaning to be the same as *ὥς οἶόν τε μάλιστα* found elsewhere in Plato (*cp. Prot.* 349 E). Liddell and Scott apparently take this view (*s.v. οἶος* iii. 3), and Davies and Vaughan's translation is based upon it: 'the mention of which makes men shudder to the last degree of fear.' But why should *μάλιστα* be omitted? The phrase will stand without it, and bear its usual and well-defined meaning. Plato is not likely to have said unreservedly that the names of certain mythical terrors and monsters make all men shudder. He qualifies his statement. That is their aim and tendency. They *do their best* to terrify the hearers. In the case of children, whose education is now under consideration, they would certainly terrify, and cause the children to grow up timid. Of course they would not frighten philosophers.

The confusion between *οἶόν τε* and *οἶονται* in MSS. is well known (see Adam on Plato, *Rep.* ii. 358 E, where he refers to Schneider on *Rep.* i. 329 E. See also Isaeus xi. 20, p. 157 Wyse). *οἶονται* would readily change to *οἶεται*, where the sense seemed to demand it. It would be easy to conjecture *οἶονται* for *οἶόν τε* in Clement, *Protr.* p. 21, ll. 17-8 (Stäh.), the instance from which we started; but it is more likely that where *ὥς οἶόν τε*, a comparatively rare phrase, has remained, it represents the original text, than that the plain and simple *ὥς οἶονται* should have been changed to it. The examples of *ὥς οἶόν τε* which I have adduced above from classical Greek are few, but it seems probable that they are far from exhaustive, for others may be found lurking under *ὥς οἶονται* in MSS. They are enough, however, to show that the phrase, though not common, is well authenticated, and that it bears a meaning of its own, quite distinct from that which it has when joined to a superlative.

G. W. BUTTERWORTH.